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NEW BONN ARMY BOSS NOT A WAR CRIMINAL

The West German Government surprised the world at the end of September by appointing for the first time a Bundeswehr Commander in Chief who is not known to be a criminal.

The new C in C, who will take over the post in January next year, is General Heinrich Trettner. Like all other top Bundeswehr officers, he served Hitler truly throughout the Second World War, but unlike his two predecessors, war crimes charges have never been levelled against him.

First Inspector General of the Bundeswehr, a post equivalent to Commander in Chief, was General Adolf Heusinger. Heusinger was chief of Hitler's Operations Department, and on December 12th 1961 the Soviet Union asked for his extradition as a war criminal. Nazi documents which have been preserved show that Heusinger personally issued orders for the execution of civilian hostages in the Soviet Union. He is today Chairman of the Permanent Military Committee of NATO in Washington.

(Full details of Heusinger's crimes in GERMAN REPORT, February 3rd 1961 and January 5th 1962)

Heusinger was succeeded as C in C in 1961 by General Friedrich Foertsch. In June 1950 Foertsch was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment by the Soviet War Crimes Tribunal for crimes committed against Soviet civilians and Soviet POWs. He was returned to West Germany in 1955 before the expiry of his sentence.

(Full details of Foertsch's crimes in GERMAN REPORT, March 3rd 1961)

According to records in Berlin, the new appointee, General Trettner, does not appear to be named on any of the allied war criminal lists.

After taking part in the blitzkrieg operations against Belgium and Holland, Trettner was awarded the Nazi medal "Knight's Cross". In September 1940, when he was serving as first general staff officer of the 7th Parachute Division, he received

the following "Top Secret" orders under the code name "Operation Sea Lion":

"The 7th Parachute Division is to be dropped in the Lyminge-Sellingehythe area, and is assigned the following tasks: to capture the high ground north and north-west of Folkestone; open up crossings over the Royal Military Canal near Hythe; defend the troop landings against attacks from the north, especially by blocking the roads from Canterbury to Dover; support the capture of Dover".

But the RAF kept command of the air, and Major Trettner and his division were never able to carry

out these orders. Later in the Second World War Trettner played a major part in the Nazi conquest of Crete, and then saw service on the eastern front as commander of the 4th Parachute Division. In January 1945, a few months before the end of the war, Hitler awarded him the "Knight's Cross with Oak Leaves", one of the highest Nazi distinctions, and promoted him to the rank of Lieutenant General.

Trettner joined the Bundeswehr in 1956. He served for three years as head of the NATO Logistics Department in Fontainebleau, and is at present Commander of the First Corps of the Bundeswehr.

BRITISH INTELLIGENCE HELPS HARRY WEST GERMAN COMMUNISTS

The British military intelligence service in West Germany is helping the West German Government to fight the banned Communist Party, it was disclosed on September 22nd.

The revelation that a branch of the British forces was thus intervening in the internal politics of West Germany was made by Hermann Höcherl, West German Minister of the Interior in the course of an interview printed in the Hamburg newspaper "Welt am Sonntag". He stated: "Last year the police detected the Communist underground organisation in Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein; they seized three printing presses and masses of Communist material and 200 prosecutions were started. The Allies provided the clue by tapping a telephone conversation and giving the necessary information to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution."

Since Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein lie in the British Zone of West Germany, it is clear that this information derived from allied telephone tapping came from British military intelligence.

Commenting on Höcherl's revelation, a well-informed source in Bonn stated:

"Under agreements concluded between West Germany and the three western occupation powers, these powers have the right to tap telephone lines 'to guard the security of their forces'. It is obviously no part of the rights or duties of these allied telephone tappers to help the West German authorities in their campaign of suppression against the Communist Party and other left-wing movements. Minister Höcherl is renowned for his stupidity, and that is the only possible explanation for his disclosure."

The West German Communist Party was banned by the courts in 1956, and since then has been forced to work illegally as the Communist Party did in the Nazi period. The "Office for the Protection of the Constitution", the West German body which tries to detect the illegal Communists, is remarkable for the high proportion of Gestapo and SS officers in its senior ranks.

"NEGOTIATE WITH GDR" — US Senator

The GDR must be invited to take part in negotiations if any progress is to be made in the German problem, US Senator Wayne Morse (Democrat, Oregon) told the Senate on August 19th. Senator Morse's speech was ignored by most US newspapers, and a report has only just become available in Berlin.

The Senator stated: "The time has come for an emancipation proclamation freeing American foreign policy from West German foreign policy. I do not look with approval on the policy of 'clearing it with Adenauer.'" American foreign policy should be determined on the basis of what is in the best interests of the US, not those of West Germany, he said.

"The East German question cannot long delay a detente between East and West, if other conditions are conducive to a detente.

"Russia was devastated by the German Army to an extent that some military strategists and military historians say was unequalled in all human history. Germany has not been able to wipe the slate clean. The merciless, brutal, cruel and devastating atrocities of the German

Army have not yet been wiped off the pages of history.

"There are those, however, who apparently are oblivious to the record of Germany and are oblivious to the repeated threat from Germany to the peace of the world.

"I wish to see a united Germany under a negotiated settlement that will remove a repetition of that danger. The German question can be solved only by a negotiated settlement. If there are those who think that the German question can and will be decided by West Germany on her terms, they will never live long enough to see a united Germany. It is not in the cards.

"The US has given too many false impressions and unrealistic false hopes that West Germany will write the ticket of settlement. Unification can only be reached by negotiation, and those negotiations must take place among the Soviet Union, East Germany, West Germany, France, Britain and the United States. Moreover, the Western powers, and probably West Germany in particular, must expect to pay a price for reunification."

Danish Premier Opposes Nato Visa Ban

The Danish Premier Jens Otto Krag stated on September 21st that he was opposed to the ban on travel for GDR citizens imposed by NATO. He made the statement in an interview with the Copenhagen newspaper "Information". Here are some of the main passages from this interview:

Reporter: "Do you find it correct that Denmark should leave to a group of British, American and French officers the decision as to which East Germans may visit Denmark?"

Danish Premier: "I don't wish to lay down my views on the political system in East Germany; but as a result of the Berlin Wall the western powers took measures, and these measures are directed against representatives of the East German regime who wish to visit western countries."

Reporter: "Do you find it correct that this body which acts in the

name of Denmark too, should exclude all East Germans from the West with the exception of businessmen?"

Danish Premier: "Our Government believes that the political climate has changed so much since 1961 that the rules established then should now be changed . . . The time has come for the NATO countries to modify these regulations so that there is the possibility of artistic and scientific cooperation."

GERMAN REPORT comments: The present ban on visits to NATO countries by GDR citizens is leading to growing protests, since international conferences and sports events in the NATO countries are made difficult by the exclusion of delegates and sportsmen from the GDR. The ban on GDR visitors was imposed as a result of West German pressure, but West Germany itself has taken no consistent measures to exclude visitors from the GDR.

Gromyko on German Problem

The policy of the West German Government is one of the main factors obstructing a relaxation of tension, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko told the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 19th. He stated:

"The danger of a new military clash in Europe will continue until a final line is drawn under the Second World War. As long as the frontier drawn in Europe, including the frontiers between the two German states, are not anchored in a peace treaty, and as long as West Germany makes unchecked propaganda for a revision of the frontiers, then the spectre of a new war is always with us.

"The maintenance of the occupation regime in West Berlin almost 20 years after the end of the war simply provides fuel for West German revanchism and militarism.

"One of the main reasons for the present tension in Europe is that the West German Government uses all means to prevent a German peace settlement, and at the same time pursues a policy of enmity towards the other German state, the German Democratic Republic.

"This tension, arising from West Germany's attitude towards the GDR, is transferred to the relations between the two main military groups, and the relations between the great powers. This obviously please the revanchist politicians of West Germany, who clearly intend to bring the great powers into collision.

"Adenauer's Government has won for itself a certain reputation: whenever a proposal is made for the relaxation of international tension, from whatever side, then Bonn throws a spanner in the works.

"Let us take for example the proposal for the withdrawal or reduction of the foreign troops in central Europe; the West German Government says No.

"Let us take the proposal for a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact; the West Government says No.

"Let us take the Polish proposal for an atom-free zone in central Europe; the West Government says No.

"But if any measure is planned which will increase international tension, such as the plans for 'multilateral' or 'multinational' NATO forces, which will allow the Bundeswehr to get its hands on nuclear weapons, then West Germany is in the van in its support."

DOES THE GDR EXIST?

West German Paper Answers Own Question

(On September 12th the "Frankfurter Rundschau", one of the most liberal of the big West German newspapers, investigated at length the question as to whether the German Democratic Republic really exists. Many of the facts given in this article, reproduced below with certain shortenings for space reasons, will be familiar to regular readers of GERMAN REPORT; but it is useful to have them confirmed from a West German source.)

The state which does not exist was founded on October 7th 1949, and is called "German Democratic Republic". It is a communist state. Since it still exists today it has already lasted two years longer than Hitler's "Thousand Year Reich". The fact that we do not like this state does not make it exist any the less; and it has not hindered many western states, including the (West German) Federal Republic, from concluding agreements with it, negotiating with it at international conferences, and recognising it as a partner in international organisations.

The first western state to conclude a trade agreement with the GDR was Finland. This happened on October 15th 1949 when the GDR was just eight days old. On March 7th 1958 a further state, Egypt, concluded a trade agreement with the GDR, and one month later the GDR sent a delegation to the East-West trade conference in Geneva.

One and a half years earlier, in December 1951, a GDR delegation addressed the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris...

In 1953 the Chamber for Foreign Trade of the GDR concluded trade and payment agreements with Greece, France, Lebanon and Austria; this was followed in 1954 by trade agreements with Turkey, Indonesia, Uruguay, Holland, Iceland, Sweden, Argentina and India. The agreement with India laid down that the GDR could open a trade mission in Bombay and an agency in Calcutta; this document was signed for India by the State Secretary in the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

In 1954 the "German Red Cross of the GDR" was accepted as a member of the League of Red Cross Societies, and the GDR became a member of the International Railways (UITC) with its seat in Paris.

In 1955 the GDR sent a representative to Geneva to maintain liaison with the ECE, the UN Economic Commission for Europe. In the same year trade agreements were concluded with Norway, Italy, Columbia, Belgium, Burma, Sudan, Britain, Chile and Syria. GDR representatives took part in a number of international conferences such as the "Diplomatic Conference on International Railway Communications" in Berne, the "European Railway Passenger Timetable Conference" in Wiesbaden, and various meetings of sub-organisations of the ECE in Geneva.

Three years later, in 1959, a delegation of the Ulbricht Government took part in the Foreign Ministers Conference of the Big Four (USA, Soviet Union, Britain and France) in Geneva.

Since this conference, which was attended by delegations from the Federal Republic and the GDR with equal rights, four years have passed, and time has worked not for us but for the GDR. Today the GDR is represented by institutions, scientists, technicians and officials in over 200 non-state international organisations. Sport functionaries from the GDR are members, with equal rights, of 42 of the 45 existing international sports organisations.

Apart from the states already mentioned, the GDR has concluded trade agreements with Iraq, Yemen, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco and Tunisia. The GDR Chamber of Foreign Trade maintains offices in Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Britain, Iceland, Italy, Holland, Norway, Austria, Sweden and Turkey. In Finland the GDR, just like the Federal Republic, is represented by a trade mission. In Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Iraq and the United Arab Republic the GDR maintains Consulates General. In this way the Hallstein Doctrine is being increasingly shot full of holes. (Hallstein Doctrine: West Germany maintains no diplomatic relations with states which have diplomatic relations with the GDR; first, and hitherto only exception - the Soviet Union.)

Finally, we ourselves, the West Germans, have concluded a total of 152 agreements with the "state which does not exist", ranging from politically unimportant agreements on the exchange of information on river levels, to the Interzonal Trade Agreement. Bonn always argues that these agreements have not been concluded

with the GDR Government, but with subordinate authorities, but this argument is not valid. When officials sign an agreement, they are acting as the representatives of the state. For instance Dr. Kurt Leopold, West German Commissar für Interzonal Trade, is equipped, when he negotiates with the GDR Trade Ministry, with letters of accreditation signed by Ludwig Erhard, Federal Minister of Trade, and Willy Brandt, Lord Mayor of (West) Berlin.

Sensible people are unable to deny that the German Democratic Republic is a state; international law demands that a state must comprise the following factors:

1. Population.
2. A definite clearly defined territory.
3. A government which exercises sovereign power over the people who inhabit this territory.

Whether the government is freely elected, or whether it is imposed, as in the GDR, is not important for the question as to the existence of the state. Whether the "clearly defined territory" came into existence as the result of a lost war, or whether it has existed in the same frontiers for centuries is unimportant. Diplomatic recognition of this state, or more precisely of its government, is a different question, however.

The fiction that the "GDR does not exist" leads to the most extraordinary political contortions. To name one example: The International Railway Union sends out, every year, invitations to the European Timetable Conference. Every year the Federal Ministry of Transport replies that it cannot attend, for well-known reasons. (The "well-known reasons" are that the GDR is a member of this organisation, and Bonn insists that no government official of the Federal Republic may sit at the same table as a government official from the GDR. The seat for West Germany is marked with the nameplate "Deutsche Bundesbahn". The GDR has, so far, joined in the game, and their nameplate states "Deutsche Reichsbahn". All the other nameplates give the name of the country.)

When the GDR team won the world championship in handball this year, the "Frankfurter Rundschau" reported the result of the match correctly under the headline "GDR is World Champion". Eighteen days later the newspaper received a letter from the Federal Minister for All-

German Questions, objecting that the initials "GDR" had been used, and in a headline at that. "Legally, and according to the will of the German people, there is no 'GDR'" the letter stated. As an enclosure, the ministry sent us a four-page "Directive on Nomenclature and the Depiction of the German Frontiers in Maps and Text". This directive lays down not only that one should write "Soviet Occupation Zone" instead of German Democratic Republic; it also contains instructions on place names in the former German colonies. Paragraph 4 states:

"For places in the former German Protected Territories, the official German names in use up to 1918 can be used most prominently, followed, in brackets, by the foreign names in use today (for instance Bismarckburg and Misahöhe in the former German Protected Territory of Togo; Johann-

Albrechts-Höhe in the former German Protected Territory of Kamerun."

These directives were published in February 1961. But life is unjust. While civil servants sit in their offices puzzling out the best nomenclature for place-names in the former German colonies (a really urgent all-German problem), life outside their offices goes its way.

At conferences of the international sports organisations, in which both the Federal Republic and the GDR are represented, the "theory of the two German states" has long ceased to be a theory. At these conferences the nameplates say "Germany East" and "Germany West". When the International Red Cross holds a meeting you read the names "Germany - Democratic Republic" and "Germany - Federal Republic". For a long time now the international

news agencies and newspapers of international renown write the initials GDR, without any quotations marks.

In Moscow the American negotiators had no objection to the GDR signing the nuclear test ban treaty. It is true that the GDR did not sign in London and Washington as we did, but its name now figures under an important international treaty.

There is today talk of other agreements between the East and the West. If such agreements come about, they will also be signed by the GDR. If we resist, then the Americans will use muted pressure, as they did in the test ban case, to make us agree. Our friends in the West will compel us finally to face facts. And one of these facts is that the GDR is a state. Another fact is that we launched a war, and lost it. If we had never started it, then there would not have been a GDR today.

MORE SCOPE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Socialist Unity Party Urges Fresh Approach

The young men and women of the German Democratic Republic should be given more responsibility in running the state and the economy, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party urged in an Open Letter on youth problems published on September 21st.

The Open Letter severely criticised teachers and others who offered young people "superficial statements and superfluous phrases" instead of teaching them to think for themselves. Apart from questions of education, industry and politics, the Open Letter offered the views of the Socialist Unity Party on such subjects as modern dancing and sex life.

Here is a summary of some of the main points made in the Open Letter:

"The boys and girls of today will be the masters of Germany in twenty years' time. They will be largely responsible for achieving peace, democracy and socialism throughout Germany", the Open Letter stated.

"Most young people want to gain the respect of those around them and dream of doing splendid things. Their success depends not only on themselves, but on the times in which they live, the social order in which they learn and work, the people amongst whom they live, and the character of the state in which they live.

"Young people are living in an age which is young — the age of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism — and there is constant change. The new world of peace, social justice, mutual help and comradely cooperation is steadily gaining ground and dealing more and more successfully with its own problems of development. In the socialist and communist world people are gradually becoming masters of their own conditions and harnessing the forces of nature.

"Young people are today going through a period of upheaval, a period in which they must make decisions: peace, social security, humanity and genuine freedom have to be fought for. The world is moving steadily towards socialism and communism, but young people in the GDR can speed up this movement and help ensure peaceful co-existence by working better every day.

"Our epoch presents you, the young people, with historical decisions; at work, at school, in the armed forces, in the family and at play. You can keep up with the times, study and work well, fight against backwardness and help socialism forwards; or you can simply live for the day, let others do the thinking, get through your work somehow, talk a great deal of nonsense and hinder socialist progress.

"Nobody can make these daily decisions for you. You must make them yourselves. And if your life is

to have real meaning you must decide daily and hourly to take sides with socialism.

"The Socialist Unity Party knows that the vast majority of young people have decided to take an active part in working for a happy future. It is easier for them to do this in the GDR than in West Germany, for they are living in a country which embodies the future of Germany as a whole, a country which guarantees them work and security, the opportunity to study and genuinely to take part in deciding what is to be done.

"Even West German experts agree that in the GDR a generation is growing up which is better educated, more eager to learn, more optimistic, healthier and more interested in politics than young West Germans.

"Many older people in the GDR have faith in young people, understand them and help them. But some shake their heads and have little confidence in their abilities. These people realise that young people here are different from those in West Germany, but they find it hard to believe that they can cope with the problems arising today in building up socialism. They tend to judge young people superficially and not to pay serious attention to their problems; they tend to forget that this generation is growing up to socialism in a different way from their generation.

"The best way to show confidence in young people is to demand a great deal of them; the Socialist Unity

Party is convinced that they are equal to the task of helping to build up the new socialist society.

"The majority of our young people are intelligent and eager to work; they are self-confident and want to get on in their work and win people's respect, not only for their own sakes but also because this helps to win respect and recognition for our Republic.

"They mature early and want to be taken seriously at an earlier age. They are critical and impatient of bad management. They respect older people when they set a good example and do good work; since they are too young to have taken part in the fight against capitalism they tend sometimes to regard the victories won in this long struggle as a matter of course. Older people should therefore show great patience in explaining how this struggle for political power was won.

"Most young people realise that in socialism honour, fame and heroism are connected with work and that they can only develop their personalities and win the respect of others through good work. A hero in our socialist times can make a name for himself not only through courage, self-confidence and persistence in sports and other fields, but also, and above all, through devoting all his gifts and powers to producing the very best results in his daily work."

Under the influence of socialist ethics and morals, and of their own good work and sense of justice the younger generation felt drawn to socialism, the Open Letter stated. But this feeling did not develop completely spontaneously, and the older generation must help them to see how socialism also served their own interests and to understand the basic laws of social development, so as to give them the firm conviction which would help them when they came up against difficulties. This aspect of things was often neglected; young people were often put off with superficial statements and superfluous phrases at school and in meetings, instead of being encouraged to think for themselves. Teachers should urge young people in their charge to study Marxist classics and contemporary documents in the original.

Many teachers of the social sciences and civics still tended to avoid open discussions and arguments because they had not freed themselves from dogmatic influences. Teachers would have to learn more themselves, so as to be thoroughly conversant with their subject matter and thus be in a position to help young people to draw their own conclusions.

Questions posed by young people must not be brushed aside, or branded as provocative. Young people must be given the respect due to them as

citizens and their problems taken seriously.

Dealing specifically with school problems, the Open Letter stated that the standard of teaching in all subjects, especially in mathematics, natural science and languages, and the standard of discipline would have to improve. Discipline in schools was based upon the authority of the teaching staff and upon the conscious efforts of pupils themselves. The Open Letter stressed that a teacher's authority was based on his knowledge and his attitude to pupils. All teachers must pay careful individual attention to pupils, encouraging both the gifted and the less gifted, so as to avoid a tendency to levelling.

Pupils should also be informed in good time about all the opportunities in the various branches of the economy, so that they could choose careers which correspond to their capabilities and also fit in with the national needs.

Turning to the position of young people in industry the Open Letter continued:

"There is still a tendency to doubt the qualities of young skilled workers and engineers and to give them jobs far below what they are really capable of doing, and to pay unskilled and poorly qualified workers so much that they have little incentive to improve their qualifications.

"Consistent application of the principle of payment according to work done, in production, in the administration and in the scientific field, will not only raise the standard of work and productivity everywhere, but will also help to educate the younger generation to see the value of good work.

"Young people feel dissatisfied when production is held up or poor quality goods are produced, when the products are not up to world standards or when production costs are too high and labour productivity does not increase because technical methods are lagging... But they are often not told the reasons for these things, they then tend to feel that there is nothing to be done about it.

"The problems of our times should be explained to all young workers in the simplest possible way. They should be informed in meetings and discussions about the new system of management of the national economy, about the basic principles of socialist economy, cybernetics, work psychology and so on. This will give them the knowledge and confidence to master our economic problems.

"Do not belabour young workers with boring, formal or primitive speeches; offer them lively, well-informed but simply formulated lectures on the principles of modern production. Give them greater oppor-

tunities to experiment and work things out for themselves. Keep them informed about what worker researchers and socialist work brigades are doing, so that they can work along these lines themselves."

Commenting on the situation in the countryside, the Open Letter stated:

"A new farming generation is growing up in our villages: young farmers who have been trained in one or more branches of farming or in modern farming technology. The problem today is to get enough of such young experts, especially cooperative farmer's children, to work on the land.

"There is no difficulty in getting young people to work on state and cooperative farms if sufficient attention is paid to them and if they are given responsible jobs. But where this is not done, and no attention is paid to their cultural needs, young people simply move to the cities.

"They should be encouraged by explaining the interesting and important changes taking place in agriculture, mechanisation and the use of chemicals etc., and the principle of payment according to work done must be strictly enforced.

"Considerable progress has already been made, but young people want to push on to industrial production methods, so as to modernise agriculture completely.

"The best people to do this are the young graduates of agricultural training schools, and young people who have combined agricultural training with a high school education."

The Open Letter urged university lectures to do their utmost to help young people to think for themselves and to make quite certain that good marks were not in any way dependent upon lecturers' personal views. They must also be very careful to answer satisfactorily all their student's questions, however awkward. Young people who felt they had to hide what they really thought and simply did what they were told would never learn to do good, independent work.

"Young people have more free time now than ever before; it is all the more important that this time be sensibly used, for waste time is waste life and encourages boredom and restlessness. Parents and teachers, club-house managers, youth officials, trade union and sports officials should try, especially in the residential areas, to find interesting and socially useful new ways in which young people can spend their free time. But they must avoid bossing or compelling young people to do things unwillingly. It is much more important to arouse their interest and enthusiasm and then let them organise their own leisure activities.

"The government provides the

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BRITISH MPs COMMENT ON DEMOCRATIC GERMANY

In early September four British Labour MPs made a short visit to the German Democratic Republic. During their stay in Leipzig at the time of the Leipzig Autumn Fair they gave the following interview to a reporter from Radio Berlin International, foreign-language service of the GDR Radio service. The MPs were William Griffiths (Moss Side, Manchester); Richard Kelley (Don Valley, Yorkshire); Albert Roberts (Normanton, Yorkshire); and Leslie Spriggs (St. Helens, Lancashire).

Reporter: It would be interesting to learn some of your impressions about living standards.

Mr Spriggs: To me and at least two of my colleagues, this first opportunity to meet the people of the GDR has been very welcome. I had no idea that Eastern Germany had such a high form of Government both national and local. We found educational services at the Leipzig University of the highest order. Children in the street looked very well fed and well clothed. People in general looked much like the British, dressing

the same way and enjoying the same sort of things.

It was a great privilege to visit the College here at Leipzig. We saw physical training facilities and the results of that training; we saw the finest specimen of manhood here. And when I read or hear that sportsmen or artists are refused visas to travel to our country, I can only say that to refuse to accept or to acknowledge that there is a state here is closing one's eyes to facts. I met many people here who are prepared to work, live and play with us on equal terms.

Mr Kelley: I visited the German Democratic Republic in 1961. When I arrived in Berlin this time, and later in Leipzig and travelling through the countryside, I was struck by the greater number of private motorcars and motorcycles now on the roads in the German Democratic Republic. There is no doubt that there has been a spectacular increase in facilities for private and personal transport. I was also impressed by the brightness and variety of goods in the shops and by the standard of dress of the people, which is a great improvement on what I saw in 1961.

I think there has been a great deal of progress. People who think that we can go on pretending that the German Democratic Republic does not exist are living in cloud-cuckoo-land.

Mr Griffiths: Of course, as you know on a brief visit like this, one's impressions are necessarily tourist. You can't judge the living standards of the people in Wigan by a walk round Piccadilly Circus, and I wouldn't be impertinent enough to say that I was an expert on living standards in all parts of the GDR as a result of a short and busy stay in Leipzig. But I was here in 1955 and again in 1958 and I have seen enough already this time to say that there is an obvious improvement in living standards. If one applies the test that one does in one's own country, of the appearance of the people in the streets, their general clothing and general demeanour, the appearance of the shops, the goods on display, the people buying in them, one can judge living standards in any country without knowing the language by observation of these habits. And I would say there is a striking change for the better in the GDR compared to what I saw on my previous visits.

Reporter: Did you see something of the Leipzig Trade Fair?

Mr Spriggs: We had an opportunity to visit the Leipzig Fair and here we saw GDR products — and many other countries' products — on exhibition. The GDR is producing goods second to none and if we want those goods in our country, the people of Britain and in particular members of the House of Commons must see to it that we do acknowledge the plain fact that the GDR is a state, with the full machinery of local and national government. At Leipzig we found all kinds of people from all parts of the world, people of varying political opinions all ready to trade and, if what I have learned about the trade restrictions between Eastern Germany and the United Kingdom is true, then Britain is lagging behind. In Britain there are pockets of high unemployment and I believe that, if some of these restrictions were removed quickly, we could open up new trade agreements whereby not only Eastern Germany would benefit, but the people of Britain, too.

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means for young people to develop their talents—in amateur theatricals, technical study groups etc. But many club leaders administer these funds in a very complicated way; questionnaires have to be filled in and membership fees paid and youth hostels and clubs have complicated lists of rules, as if boys and girls were incapable of keeping themselves clean or looking after their own money. All institutions catering for young people in their free time should therefore be handed over to reliable young people in the Free German Youth Organisation and the trade unions and youth club committees should be left to decide what they want to do.

"There has been a great deal of discussion recently about the desirability of various kinds of dancing. Some people find it difficult to distinguish between a dance and a political meeting. Political problems are discussed at political meetings; the head does most of the work. A dance is a little different; you bring your head with you, of course, but express your feelings mainly through movement. Nobody wants to dictate

to young people how they must express their feelings in dancing, but we do object to song texts being used as a means of ideological diversion.

"We appeal to all composers and text-writers to produce more original songs and dance music, so that fewer West German song hits will be sung in the GDR and inspiring GDR songs will become hits in West Germany."

The Open Letter urged frank discussion of problems of love. All those in responsible posts should realise that an unhappy love affair or marriage could cripple a young person's development for a long time, but that happy love or marriage could give it wings. Young people were growing up earlier today and, especially because of the equality between the sexes, these problems of love and sex could not be solved by secretiveness, prudishness, punishment or the like. Parents and teachers should discuss these things openly with those in their charge, so as to avoid negative social results from ties formed too soon. All genuine love should be respected; what was needed were healthy human relations between the sexes, not a monastic atmosphere.

Reporter: During your stay here, did you get reactions to statements by Mr Wilson on relaxation in Germany?

Mr Kelley: The question concerning Mr. Wilson's speech concerns all of us. Firstly we want world peace. I think the German Democratic Republic is consolidating its position and politicians have got to face facts. And I for one would be most anxious to see a real reconciliation between the German people. It is not my business to say how this should be done, but in the interest of world peace we want to see the people of Europe living in a more friendly way so that we can dissolve any thought or action that may lead to war.

Reporter: Would you say that you found people with whom you discussed this relaxation-minded?

Mr Roberts: What I did find was a certain measure of confidence. And if confidence leads to relaxation then I would say yes. As my colleague, Mr Richard Kelley, pointed out, we have already been round Leipzig, and we have been to a cooperative farm. There does seem to be a certain liveliness, and therefore, if you mean by relaxation, is there a good measure of confidence inside the German Democratic Republic, I say without hesitation, yes.

Mr Griffiths: I would most certainly second what Mr Roberts just said. I think that the changes that one notes here are profound, very considerable changes. Everybody I have talked to in this brief visit has been convinced of the need — and persuaded me of the sincerity of their intentions — for a relaxation of tension and real negotiation on international problems.

Mr Kelley: In our encounters with the people and government in the GDR we found a readiness — I think we can all agree on this — to meet the West Germans and the mayor and officials of West Berlin, to talk about the problem, which I find is not reciprocated on the other side, and I agree that there have been in our experience some signs of relaxation or a readiness for relaxation on the part of the government officials whom we have met in the German Democratic Republic.

Reporter: What in your opinion should be done to facilitate Anglo-GDR contacts?

Mr Spriggs: I think the only practical possibility is recognition of the fact that there is a state, and the right to set up the proper official offices in the capitals of both Britain and Eastern Germany.

Mr Griffiths: I think the first thing the British people have got to recognise, whether they like the GDR or not, is that it exists, that it is an absurdity to pretend that this state is not in existence or that it is going to wither away. Whilst we have been here we have read with a sense of shame of the actions taken by ministers in Britain in preventing artists with a world-wide reputation (Berliner Ensemble) who are citizens of the German Democratic Republic from going to the Edinburgh Festival, to give the British people and international visitors there the benefit of hearing them. Whatever international negotiations may take place in the future leading to that relaxation of international tension which we all desire, — both the people in the GDR and, I am sure, the people of my own country — one thing is sure: the British people will have to recognize that this state is in existence, is no longer an infant, and has now reached the level of a lusty, growing and prosperous young nation. Whatever our views we have to recognize it as a fact.

Mr Roberts: I am concerned with the well-being of people whatever country they may live in. The position is that the German Democratic Republic is now established, and has confidence in the future. We must dispel the cold war as soon as possible. We must bring about understanding and we must be tolerant to each other. I am not responsible for the division of Germany, but it is here, and we have got to look at these things in the true perspective. We must bring about full understanding

and there should as far as possible be a free exchange of ideas and of political reasoning. We can only bring this about if we try to understand each other's problems and my personal view on sport and on music, which I have always considered international, is that people should be free to go to any part of the world. In this way we can help to bring about a true understanding between all people and the sooner we realize these facts the sooner we can dispel the cold war.

Mr. Kelley: You asked what we think could be done to increase contacts between the people of our country and the German Democratic Republic. I think the best basis upon which friendship between nations can be established is trade and common interest. I think there are very many opportunities for our people to develop trade with the German Democratic Republic and that in itself would considerably increase the contacts between the two peoples. For instance, in the German Democratic Republic, I am assured by high government officials, ministers in fact, that they could take more high quality goods from Britain, if they could create the exchange values in our country by selling more of the goods they produce here to the people of Britain. That is the kind of thing which is bound to develop closer international contacts and friendship and I can assure the people of the German Democratic Republic that my colleagues and I will do whatever we can to promote trade and better relations between the two peoples.

Shorts from West & East

Spanish workers in factories in West Germany are being persecuted by the authorities if they dare to join trade unions or read anti-Franco papers, the "Welt der Arbeit", organ of the West German TUC stated on September 25th. The newspaper quoted examples of Spanish workers who had been arrested or sacked because they were active in a campaign to unionise their Spanish colleagues.

A delegation from the American Friends Service Committee toured the GDR in mid-September. They talked with Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council, and other senior government officials including Gerald Götting, Secretary-General of

the Christian Democratic Union, and Hans Seigewasser, State Secretary for Church Affairs.

The GDR trade unions run nearly 7,800 lending libraries in their factories and holiday homes. These contain more than 5½ million books and have nearly 770,000 readers. About half of the libraries have full-time paid librarians.

A GDR trade delegation headed by Julius Balkow, Minister for Foreign and Inner-German Trade, visited Yugoslavia for talks on expanding GDR-Yugoslav trade.

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

By John Peet

To give readers some idea of the "anti-relaxation" atmosphere in large portions of the West German press, let me quote a few lines from an article published on September 24th in "Quick", one of the big-circulation West German illustrated magazines:

"We (the West Germans) are standing by the wayside and watching how irresponsibly the whole of the Free West, with the exception of France, goes surging by. Relaxation of tension, one of the stupidest, most abstract, and most dangerous slogans of the present times, grows and prospers. Kennedy's 'strategy of peace', the stupidest of all slogans, determines the political efforts of all important statesmen from Washington to West Berlin. Things are only just starting; they will stop again one day because this road is impassable, but we have to ask ourselves what may happen before then."

Blind Eyes

West German propagandists often make fools of themselves as they clap their telescope to their blind eyes, look eastwards, and solemnly declare: "There is no such thing as the German Democratic Republic", but they broke their own records for fatuity in mid-September.

What happened was this: in the course of the qualification football matches for the Olympic Games, the West German national soccer team played the GDR national soccer team on September 15th. The match was held at Karl-Marx-Stadt in the GDR, and was screened by the television services of both East and West Germany. Since the same language is spoken in both German states, the West German TV saw no necessity for sending a commentator of its own to Karl-Marx-Stadt, and the match was reported, very fairly and competently, by a GDR sports reporter.

"Scandal"

But this tiny amount of peaceful co-existence between East and West was too much for most of the West German and West Berlin press, always ready to work itself into a lather. In big front-page headlines the papers screamed of a "TV Scandal", and in dozens of leading articles they called for the sacking of the TV officials responsible.

What were they so excited about? Many readers will find it hard to

believe when I tell you. Objections were made to the following three points:

1. The reporter said that the match was being played in Karl-Marx-Stadt. This has been the name of the city since 1953, and it is shown under this name in modern atlases all over the world, with the exception of West Germany, where it is still given its old name of Chemnitz.

2. The reporter referred throughout the match to the team from the German Democratic Republic as the GDR team. As everyone knows, except the West German cold warriors, the GDR has existed since 1949, and this is the proper name of the team.

3. Twice in the course of the 90-minute commentary the reporter made a passing reference to the "teams from the two German states". Whether you like it or not, there are in fact two German states today.

"This is a crying scandal" shouted the West German newspapers. "Our TV officials show lack of political sense".

Tame Orgy

There is a hoary old Russian joke dating back to the early years after the revolution, when textiles were rare, and clothing almost irreplaceable. The story goes like this:

"What is a Soviet orgy?"

"A group of people of both sexes drink some vodka and strip. Then they keep an eye on their clothes."

But I never knew what a GDR orgy was until I read the June issue of "GDR Review", a monthly magazine published in English and a number of other languages by the League of the German Democratic Republic for Friendship Among the Peoples. Here is an extract from a report on life on a GDR cooperative farm:

"The cooperative farm chairman Bernhard Gruenert goes with a delegation to Czechoslovakia. On his arrival home his wife receives him with: 'Good that you've come. There's a frightful state of affairs in Kruczinski's work team. They are celebrating orgies out in the fields and the potatoes are still lying about.'"

"Bernhard puts down his suitcase and goes straight out as he is to the field. True enough they are all there, Paul Kruczinski, Reinhold the carter and all the rest of them. They are

lying on the heaps of potatoes, well covered over so that they do not get cold. Their wives are sitting beside them on wicker baskets. None of them bother to see to it that the potatoes are gathered off the field."

And that is the full and complete story of the orgy. So if you ever see someone lying on a pile of potatoes with his wife beside him on a wicker basket, you will know what he is doing.

(Of course I could probably find out what this peculiar story is all about if I troubled to look up the original German text; but that would be a pity.)

Peasants?

In recent Berlin Notebooks we have kicked around the problem as to whether we should call the GDR a "workers' and peasants' state". This is the literal translation of the German phrase, but most readers who have sent us letters on the subject so far feel that the word "peasant" has an archaic sound in English. Here is a "pro-peasant" voice, from Pat Sloan, of Biggin Hill, England:

"It would be quite wrong for you to abandon the use of the word 'peasant' unless to replace by 'collective farmer' where this is in context. It is quite untrue that the word 'peasant' is obsolete in England, and we regularly read of French 'peasants', Spanish 'peasants' etc., wherever peasants as a social category exist.

Confusion

"In Britain the historical fact is that with two minor exceptions we have no peasants; we have, in agriculture as in industry, employers and labourers. Hence the confusion. Our only British 'peasant' is the crofter of the Western Highlands, who is a genuine peasant survival, and, in England, a modern creation by deliberate emigration from town to countryside, the 'smallholder', a specimen of the non-employing type of small farmer. Economically, the crofter and the smallholder are the only British equivalent of the traditional peasant of most other countries. But to call those traditional peasants either 'farmers' or 'agricultural workers' will give a much falsier impression than the use of the word 'peasant', which has a clear social meaning even if some people are ignorant of it."